1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

(in answer to a leading question) that he liked his father's brother better than his mother's. According to Dave, too, the paternal uncle was more helpful than the mother's brother and would give money to his brother's son. When Jack married, he went to Markleeville, settling with his wife's parents, for whom he would hunt deer. When he was successful, they would say, "You have done well, we'll eat well." Sometimes Jack would return to visit his own parents.

If a woman did not like her husband, she would bid him be gone. In the reverse situation, he simply took his belongings and moved. Either was free to marry again. Young children stayed with their mother. Later the father might help his offspring.

Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. "Now I don't know what's the matter, most of the girls leave their husbands and run around." His own marital ventures were somewhat irregular. He was living in Alpine County, but came here across a river where the Indians were having a big dance. A woman followed him and caught up. Bill did not care and went to his father's camp. She came in, and he lived with her permanently. She had no parents living. About fifteen years ago (in 1926), he lost her and remarried. This time he was the wooer, saying, "I want to sleep with you." She agreed, and he did not have to pay her anything. Then, last fall, an old woman came and wanted to marry him. She was staying around Gardnerville and came directly to him.

The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. Thus, if Sally (p. 313) had a daughter, it would not be right for McCarty to marry her. Similarly, he would not regard the daughter of his mother's brother as a proper spouse, for she, too, is a sister. "Indian people don't do that. They say they would spoil themselves." If a person marries a kinswoman, they say, "Shame on you! You are spoiling yourself." The women would talk about an offender, saying, "kum k'ica'cacia" (On him shame!). But there was no objection to marrying within one's patrilineal group if there was no relationship.

Neither Dave nor Jack had ever heard of a man who married a wife's daughter by a previous marriage.

The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. Sometimes the parents-in-law liked their daughter's husband and gave him a second daughter. Dave knew of only one occurrence of sororal polygyny, but if a woman died the widower would take her sister to wife; wives from different families would quarrel. The Washo attitude is illustrated by an incident told me by Miss G. M. Dangberg. Her father, a resident of Minden, once jestingly asked a supposedly bigamous Indian's friend, "Why haven't *you* got two wives like So-and-so?" The answer was, "*My* wife has not got a sister." Bill, however, knew of a man near Markleeville who had three wives from different families. Dave had never heard of any man who had more than two wives; laughingly he added, "That's all he wants, anyway."

A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. When Jack's son died, the widow married Jack's brother's son.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

587 Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicitly said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else.

606 There was no mother-in-law taboo. An old woman would say to her daughter's husband, "Go, get some water, and we'll cook and eat." Then they would get some wood, and the young man would obey, speaking "good" to his mother-in-law. When he killed game, he brought it home. Then the old woman asked her daughter to cook for her husband, and would be satisfied. A woman might advise her son-in-law, telling him that she was treating him like an own son, would bid him ask her own son whether he wanted to join in looking for game, and so on. According to Dave, fathers-in-law did not lecture their daughters' husbands in this fashion, nor, for that matter, did all mothers-in-law.

607 Brothers-in-law were friendly.

DEATH

764 According to Barrett,* cremation was formerly customary, whereas nowadays [178] there is burial. Jack did not confirm the first part of this statement, declaring that the Digger Indians burnt corpses whereas the Washo always put them [765] into the ground, interment being by relatives of the deceased. Everyone cried, but there was no hair cutting. If the dead man had fine clothes, they were [302] buried with him. Nowadays, when an Indian dies, his kin buy a coffin; also a [178] good shirt, clothes, and shoes, and put them on the corpse. The family do not wish to stay in the house, but put up a hut on a new site and move there.

[768] Dave, however, gave so circumstantial a statement about cremation that its occurrence, at least among some of the Washo, can hardly be doubted. When an Indian died, he said, an old doctor spoke to the survivors as follows: "Do not bury him, or a wolf or coyote coming along will smell the dead person and eat him. You must not bury him in the ground; burn him up, and pick up what is left of the bones to put them into some creek." All used to dance around the fire and cry. They would put up sagebrush two to three feet high and place [753] the corpse on top. The clothes of the deceased were hidden lest anyone wearing them should fall sick. An old doctor dreamed that people should not wear [787] the dead person's clothing. The Digger Indians when mourning mix ashes and grease to put on the face, which they do not wash for about five months. The Washo did not put anything on the face, but cried continually for three months [765] and did not wash the face for a year. Old men and women cut the hair as close as possible, but the young people did not care. The house where the death oc- [768] curred was not burnt, but abandoned. Sometimes the best-looking property—basketry—was burned with the corpse. The deceased man's bow was broken up and put up in the hills so that no one could use it thereafter.

According to Bill, the Washo sometimes buried and sometimes—but not very often—burned the corpse, putting it on a pile of brush. In the latter event the bones were subsequently interred.

* Barrett, *op. cit.*, 9.

	Washo		No. Paiute		C. Miwok		Great Basin
	Sa		Sa		Sa		
Face length - women	5	120	5	117	7	118	
Face breadth - men	6	151	6	150	9	152	
Face breadth - women	4	145	5	140	7	143	
Nose length - men	6	55	6	57	9	56	52.60
Nose length - women	5	52	5	51	7	53	
Nose breadth - men	6	43	6	44	9	45	43.57
Nose breadth - women	5	40	5	40	7	41	
Ear length - men	6	69	4	67	3	73	
Ear length - women	5	67	5	66	3	72	
Ear breadth - men	6	34	4	34	3	35	
Ear breadth - women	5	35	5	30	3	35	

Although the use of such small samples in the above data limits the level of confidence we can have in any theoretical statements, a few tentative remarks may be made. In spite of linguistic and geographical barriers, the Washo appear racially very similar to their neighbors to both the east and west of the Sierra Nevada.

The close similarity in the indices and measurements of these groups is an indication of a relatively large inbreeding population. On the other hand, the Washo sample showed a low degree of variability from one individual to the next, an indication that a small homogenous gene pool is present. There is ethnographic evidence to support both views. The Washo did intermarry with the Northern Paiute, in Antelope Valley and probably at the Honey Lake area as well. The Washo also carried on trade and social intercourse with the central valley Californian peoples. In fact, part of Gifford's sample (not included here) contained Washo individuals who had one non-Washo parent. One also hears of the social conservatism of the Washo and their past fears of Miwok and Northern Paiute raids, factors against outbreeding.

Social Organization

Compared with primitive peoples generally, the Washo kinship system is neither elaborate nor extensive. There is little emphasis on lineage or ancestors. "The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans" (Freed 1960, 361). Reckoning of descent is bilateral. Certain behaviors that are rigidly prescribed in many primitive societies are absent in Washo society. There is no mother-in-law avoidance. Monogamy, polygny, and polyandry (fraternal) are all practiced, although monogamy is most common and polyandry is rare. Sororal polygny and the levirate occur, but neither the sororate nor the levirate are required. This writer has knowledge of only two apparently polyandrous marriages.[1]

Residence after marriage is usually bilocal (that is, patrilocal or matrilocal), but the couple may move in with relatives other than the parents. Inheritance

Inheritance is essentially lacking, but rights in eagle series and certain pinenut groves did pass on from the father and mother to their children. The Washo had a kind of "moiety" division for games at festivals, but these appear to relate more to residence than kinship. 428 616 526 574

The major concrete kinship group was the extended family. It occupied a single house (galis dangal) and was composed of one, sometimes two, nuclear families who were consanguinally related. A few more distant relatives or even non-relatives were often attached. 596

The household, in addition to being the primary kinship group, was also the basic economic and political group. It was in theory and practice an autonomous, sovereign unit of society. Beyond the household, in the wider groupings of social organization, the divisions are not clearly defined. For present purposes we can say that the levels of social organization were (1) the household (called here galis dangal after the name of the winter house), (2) the community (angale atega, "houses together"), (3) the band, and (4) the tribal territorial divisions (w¢lm¢lti, pauwalu, and hangal¢lti). 592 596 [621] [619]

There was no generic term for bands, and these, as all actual groups of people, were referred to by the name of their geographical location or the personal names of band members. The "band" is defined here as several cooperating communities from the same sector of Washo territory which came together for antelope and rabbit drives, puberty ceremonies, and other social occasions. The Washo living in the vicinity of the town of Woodfords today thus constitute a band. They comprise a collection of four communities scattered around Woodfords with close ties with the few Washo who live in neighboring Markleeville and Paynesville. Band lines were weak and existed more by the facts of economic cooperation and general social relations than by kinship or political leadership. 621 [628]

Washo bands had a less "corporate" character than those described by Steward (1938) for the aboriginal Owens Valley Paiute and certain Great Basin bands that developed after the introduction of the horse. The corporate character of the Owens Valley Paiute bands is seen in band ownership and defense of hunting and seed territories, a band chief, and band cooperation in a communal sweat house and communal irrigation. [171]

It appears that an older man (often complemented by his wife) who was economically active would attract a following of several related, and perhaps some unrelated, households to form a community around a spring or along a stream. There was no structural position for headman (d¢tumo) beyond the [592] 622

1. These two cases may be simply extensions of levirate privileges since the second marriages were to younger brothers. In one case the older brother was crippled. [587]

14. (8) In the other galis dangal lived Jack's youngest wife, her daughter, the mother of the three wives, and a related family consisting of a man (D¢beh¢¢sh, "gun shooter"), his wife, and three girls that walked down from Loyalton because "this galis dangal needed a man too." 592 596

15. (8) Shortly after Little Josie, her husband (Damtanga), three girls, and her mother moved to Truckee, her mother died so the family tore the galis dangal down. "Little Josie had her man make the new galis dangal big and four men worked together on it. Then her husband froze to death while hunting. She stayed in that galis dangal for about another year. She was glad to leave it when she married Budish and they built a new galis dangal over the hill." Budish brought a son (Ishin) by a previous marriage into the house. [768] [165] [587]

Little Josie's oldest daughter (Minnie Truckee) was not married, but she had a half breed "railroad daughter." The middle daughter (Josie) had a Washo husband (Jim Winters) in Reno and a son and daughter living with her. The youngest daughter, her White husband, and their three or four children lived in a separate cabin some distance from the galis dangal. [848] [361]

The mean number of occupants in these fifteen galis dangal is seven while the range is from three to thirteen. The number for any single galis dangal varied from season to season when the men and often the whole family moved to Lake Tahoe to fish, hunt, and gather plants. The Washo in the town of Truckee around 1900 worked at menial tasks for the Truckee Hotel or the saw-mills and peddled the fish and game they caught to the White residents. Washo baskets were just beginning to be sold as curios to the Whites and probably not more than a dozen were made for sale in any given year of that period. [162] [221] [439]

Some Historical Considerations

History begins in the Washo territory comparatively late. We have no definite information on the presence of Whites in Washo territory prior to 1826. The Spaniards had been in California, primarily along the coast, sometime previous to this, but their contact is questionable and their influence was extremely meager. 175

The decade of the 1850's was for the Washo a period of the most rapid cultural and environmental change they have ever experienced. In those few years the White intruders displaced the Washo and changed their environment sufficiently to require them to depend upon the former for survival (Fairfield 1916; James 1921). [177]

In the early 1900's the Washo used the word "kavayo" for horse, which is related to the Spanish term, but this term seems to have been borrowed from 175 177 492

?:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20
[P.355, A]

II. WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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A number of changes have taken place in Washo social organization since the end of the aboriginal period: the form of marriage has changed from non-sororal polygyny to monogamy; the system of kinship terminology is apparently changing, as indicated by the existence of a set of alternate kinship terms; the sororate and levirate have been abandoned; and a weak system of agamous moieties has been lost. Other elements of social organization appear to have been fairly stable, e.g., rule of residence, patterns of descent and inheritance, and form of the family.

The analysis of Washo social organization given in this chapter is based on the investigations of Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (MS), and upon the following kinds of data which I gathered in the field. First, the most reliable elderly informants were intensively interviewed about all aspects of social organization both past and present. Second, kinship schedules were obtained from seventy informants ranging in age from ten to over eighty. In addition, brief life histories and census data were collected in the course of the genealogical interviews. The life histories provided information on forms of marriage. Residence rules were determined both from the census material and from the life histories, since both kinds of data are necessary to establish residence rules adequately (Fortes, 1949; Goodenough, 1956; Murdock, 1955). Finally, sociometric data using family visiting patterns as the criterion were collected with the thought that, if any incipient unilineal kinship groups were present, they might be discoverable from the pattern of interfamily visiting.

The methods used to determine change in social organization were the same as those used by Bruner (1955), Eggan (1937), Gough (1952), Nett (1952), Schmitt and Schmitt (n.d.), and Spoehr (1947). The writings of earlier investigators and interviews with older informants supplied information on changes in residence rules, kinds of kinship groups, and forms of marriage. Changes in the system of kinship terminology were determined by comparing the variant usages contained in the large sample of modern kinship schedules with what was thought to be the aboriginal Washo kinship terminology. For the Washo, the aboriginal terminology may be established with relative confidence because the early kinship schedules collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) agree closely with each other and with the terminological system used by the majority of modern Washo.

Terminological change has a restricted meaning here. It refers only to changes which result in a new type of terminological system. Since the widely used classifications of kinship systems are based on the consanguine relatives of ego's generation and the first ascending and first descending generations (Spier, 1925; Lowie, 1928; Murdock, 1949), a change in the nomenclature of cousins or aunts and uncles is significant whereas change in terms for grandparents' siblings or affinal relatives is not significant. The genealogical interviews conducted in this research dealt primarily with relatives critical in defining the type of kinship terminology.

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more distant relatives have no particular obligations. In talking with the Washo about relatives, I get no particular feeling of a group of kinfolk larger than the nuclear family. Informants will mention this relative or that one as being particularly close, but make no mention of a group of kin standing up for them against another kin group or being obligated to aid them. The modern Washo are best regarded as lacking kindreds. The earliest evidence regarding Washo social organization is Barrett's statement that "the social organization of the Washo is primarily based upon the family unit" (1917, p. 8). This is certainly true today and there is no evidence that the situation has changed since the end of the aboriginal period. [178]

MARRIAGE

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Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that polygyny was common and by no means exceptional. Barrett (1917, p. 9) says:

> In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

Lowie reports that both sororal and nonsororal polygyny existed. Lowie's data show a preference for the sororal form. He reports an incident in which a rancher asked a Washo why he did not have two wives. The Indian replied, "My wife has not got a sister" (Lowie, 1939, p. 309). The same preference for sororal polygyny is reported by my informants. The reason given is that strange women fight. Murdock classifies polygynous societies which are not exclusively sororal as nonsororal (1949, p. 140). I have followed his system and therefore classify aboriginal Washo marriage as nonsororal polygyny. The modern Washo have abandoned polygyny because it is forbidden by law. [178]

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Both the sororate and the levirate were formerly practiced to some degree. Lowie says that the levirate and sororate were correct but not compulsory (1939, p. 310). Curtis declares that a widow was bound to marry her husband's brother if he desired her (1926, p. 97). My informants generally agree with Lowie. The sororate and levirate are no longer followed. [178]

[P.364, A] Ia

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summary, the standard Washo kinship terminology may be thought of as a compromise between a generation type and bifurcate collateral type, as might be expected from the divergent influences arising from the social structure.

The new Washo terminological system is lineal in ego's generation and the first descending generation. In the parental generation, the uncle terms are lineal but the terms for aunts remain bifurcate collateral. Can the changes in social structure, namely, the demise of the moiety system, the loss of the sororate and levirate, and the shift from nonsororal polygyny to monogamy adequately account for the terminological changes?

The first two changes in social structure appear to have no connection with the terminological changes. Exogamous moieties tend to be correlated with the bifurcate merging type of terminology; but nonexogamous moities do not have this effect, for they produce no regular alignments of kinsmen. Murdock classes societies with nonexogamous, unilineal kinship groups as bilateral (1949, pp. 161-162). The Washo moiety system was agamous and therefore exerted no noticeable influence on the terminological system. Thus its loss is probably not significant with regard to the changes that have taken place in the kinship terminology. If the sororate and levirate have an influence on kinship terminology, it is presumably toward the bifurcate merging type (Sapir, 1916). Since Washo standard terminology is not bifurcate merging, the sororate and levirate were never reflected in the terminology, and their lapsing has no apparent connection with the changes in the system of kinship terminology.

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The loss of nonsororal polygyny has been the only significant change with regard to the changes in the kinship terminology. Nonsororal polygyny is associated with kinship terminology of the bifurcate collateral type. Its loss therefore should result in some modification in the first ascending and first descending generations. In part, this has happened; bifurcate collateral terminology is disappearing for the uncle terms and in the first descending generation. However, the aunt terms have not yet merged. The emerging terminological system in ego's generation cannot be explained by the change in marriage arrangements, for the standard terms in ego's generation are not bifurcate collateral and therefore never reflected nonsororal polygyny. At best, the disappearance of nonsororal polygyny appears to be a factor in roughly one-half of the changes in the Washo terminological system. It helps explain the new terms for uncles and for nephews and nieces. It does not explain why the terms in ego's generation are changing or why the terms for mother's sister and father's sister remain distinct.

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Although changes in marriage patterns probably help to undermine the bifurcate collateral terms, they do not explain why the lineal type of terminology is being adopted instead of the generation type. The only elements of social structure which Murdock gives as tending to be associated with the lineal type of kinship terminology are neolocal residence and the isolated nuclear family (Murdock, 1949, pp. 152, 157). The Washo lack these. Modern Washo social structure is more in accord with a generation type of terminology, for Washo residence is bilocal. Therefore, while changes in Washo social structure may set the stage for some of the terminological changes, they do not account for the specific form taken by the terminological modifications. In short, Murdock's theory does not provide a fully ade-

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The Washo had weak agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the annual pinenut dance (Freed, 1960, 361). Actually, three "moieties" were present, but one of them divided its members between the other two when participating in games; hence, the system was fundamentually dual. A person belonged to his father's moiety, which often was also his mother's moiety. When people of different moities married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. One of our male informants claims that a woman always joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join the opposite moiety if it were having better luck (Lowie, 1939, 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

Settlements were very small. Lowie (1939, 303) states that the usual settlement had two to four houses, and that no village had as many as 10 houses. Neighbors were often kinsmen, but they might also be non-relatives. Modern Washo settlements are much larger than aboriginal ones; the largest, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of approximately 200.

Marriage

Curtis (1926, 97) and Barrett (1917, 9) report that polygyny was formerly practiced. Barrett notes that monogamy was as prevalent as polygyny. Lowie (1939, 309) says that both sororal and nonsororal polygyny existed, with a tendency to favor the sororal form because the Washo believed that strange women will fight. Barrett says that a man's choice of subsequent wives was not restricted. Both the sororate and the levirate occurred. Both were correct but not compulsory, according to Lowie. Curtis states that a widow had to marry her husband's brother if he desired her. Our informants support Lowie, both with regard to the preference for sororal as opposed to nonsororal polygyny and the noncompulsory character of the levirate. Polygyny, the sororate, and the levirate are no longer practiced. Many of the modern Washo contract a series of monogamous marriages with the earlier ones often of short duration and the later ones lasting considerably longer. Some Washo remain with their original marriage partners for life.

Role Behavior

The following descriptions of the role behavior of relatives in ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations are based on the role profile test. The relatives of the second and third ascending and descending generations were not included when the test was given. However, a

Washo NT20 ●
Achomawi N55

NWA 534

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Th	Kl	Kt	Ks	Yo	Ys	Pa	Ma	At	Sh	Tg	Wa	Ki	At
1988a. Drumstick: buckskin on end	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1988. Fur on end	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
*1994. Musical Bow	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	*+	–	–	–	–	–	+
1995. Archer's bow used	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1996. Bow held in teeth	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1997. Bow plucked with fingers	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1998. Bow rubbed with stick	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1999. Bow used by antelope shaman	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2000. As toy	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2000a. For dance	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2001. Whistle	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	–	+
*2002. Bone whistle: 1 hole	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	*–	–	+	–	+	–	+
2002a. 2 holes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2003. Willow whistle: as toy	–	–	–	+	+	*+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
2003a. Also for special dance (food dance)	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
*2004. Flute (reims)	+	+	+	+	–	*–	–	–	+	+	+	*+	+	+
*2005. Flute: elderberry	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
*2007. Bone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2008. Length (in.): about 12	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2008a. About 18	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2009. Pitch stop	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2010. Holes: 4	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
2010a. 6	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
2011. End blown	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2013. Blowing: by mouth	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2013a. By nose	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
2014. Use: for ceremal music	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2015. As toy	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2016. For courting	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
2017. By shaman	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
2017a. In hunting	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+

NA

MARRIAGE

583 *2018. Bride price – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
2019. As present – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
2020. Reciprocal present + + + + + + + *– + + + + + +
2022. Marriage by abduction – – – – – – – – – – + – – –
NA 2023. Another's wife won by fight + + + + + + + – – + – + – –
2023a. Wrestling + + + + + – – – – – – – – –
2024. Friends assist in fight – + – – – – – – – – – – – –
595 2025. Polygyny permitted – + + + + + + – + + + + + +
NW 2026. Sororal obligatory – – – – – – + – – – – – – –
2026a. Sororal usual – – – + – + – – – – – – – –
2027. Polyandry permitted – + + – – – – – *+ – – – – –
● 587 2029. Sororate + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
2030. Required – + + – – + + – – – – – – +
2030a. Customary – – – + – + – – – – – – – +
N 2031. Levirate + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
NW 2032. Required – + + – – – – – – – – – – +
2032a. Customary – – – + – + – – – – – – – –
582 2033. Choice of mates: any blood relative taboo + + + + + + – + + + + + + +
2034a. Mother's brother's daughter preferred – – – – – – + – – – – – – –
583 2037. Child betrothal – + + + – – – *– – – – – – +

[p. 404]